

Message Text

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AMCONSUL MEDAN

S E C R E T SURABAYA 0087

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, ID

SUBJECT: ALI MOERTOPO'S PEREGRINATIONS IN EAST JAVA

REF: SURABAYA 0057

SUMMARY: ON FEBRUARY 4 LT. GEN. ALI MOERTOPO GAVE A SPEECH AT AN NU RELIGIOUS SCHOOL (PESANTREN) IN A SMALL HAMLET IN THE KABUPATEN (DISTRICT) OF KEDIRI, AN AREA OF INTERNECINE MOSLEM DISPUTES WHICH IS ALSO THE SEAT OF THE BANNED UTDARUL HADIS" ISLAMIC STATE MOVEMENT. SURABAYA MOSLEM STUDENT LEADER AGIL ALI TOLD US THAT MOERTOPO'S PLAN MAY BE TO SPLIT THE NU IN EAST JAVA BY WINNING SUPPORT FOR

GOLKAR FROM KEDIRI'S KYAI'S AND "GURUS", WHO ARE RESPECTED AND OBEYED RITUALISTICALLY BY MOSLEMS THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCE. YEAR-OLD REPORTS THAT JAKARTA WAS CONSIDERING PERMITTING THE "DARUL HADIS" TO RE-EMERGE AS ANOTHER SPLITTIST MOVE, AND MOERTOPO'S UNUSUAL BACK-COUNTRY TRIP, MAY HAVE PROMPTED NEW GOVERNOR SUNANDAR TO WARN IN HIS FIRST MAJOR SPEECH THAT "THE 1977 ELECTIONS ARE NOT AIMED AT ELECTING REPRESENTATIVES THAT ARE TO ESTABLISH A NEW STATE BASED ON A NEW STATE PHILOSOPHY." END SUMMARY

1. MUCH OF EAST JAVA IS UNDER WATER AT THIS STAGE OF THE RAINY SEASON, BUT POLITICAL BUBBLES KEEP PERCOLATING TO THE SURFACE. ONE OF THESE APPEARED FEBRUARY 6, WHEN THE PRESS REPORTED THAT BAKIN DEPUTY CHIEF LT. GEN. ALI MOERTOPO AND HIS STAFF

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VISITED THE ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL "PESANTREN AL HIKMAH"

AT PURWOASRI, KABUPATEN KEDIRI, "WHERE HE GAVE A PUBLIC LECTURE FOR ITS STUDENTS AND TEACHERS AS WELL AS THE ULAMAS (RELIGIOUS SCHOLARS) OF KEDIRI." MOERTOPO ALSO INAUGURATED A NEW BUILDING (WHICH HE MAY HAVE FUNDED) FOR THE "AL HIKMAH HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE," WHICH ROUGHLY PROVIDES COLLEGE-LEVEL ISLAMIC TRAINING. BOTH THE LECTURE AND INAUGURATION CEREMONY WERE SAID TO HAVE BEEN ATTENDED BY LOCAL OFFICIALS. THE "PESANTREN AL HIKMAH" HAS 1500 STUDENTS AT ALL LEVELS OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION FROM KINDERGARTEN TO THE "HIGHER INSTITUTE." IT IS HEADED BY KYAI HAJI BADRUS SOLEH ARIF.

2. ON THE FACE OF IT, MOERTOPO'S SOJOURN IN A BACKWATER HAMLET IN EAST JAVA WOULD SEEM BOTH INEXPLICABLE AND INSIGNIFICANT. BUT THE VISIT TIED TOGETHER SOME INTERESTING THREADS IN AN INTERESTING SOCIO-POLITICAL FABRIC. PURWOASRI IS LOCATED ABOUT MIDWAY BETWEEN THE KABUPATEN CAPITALS OF JOMBANG AND KEDIRI, IN AN AREA MADE FAMOUS BY GEERTZ' "RELIGION OF JAVA," SET IN PARE NEARBY. THE "PESANTREN AL HIKMAH", LIKE MOST IN EAST JAVA, IS CONTROLLED BY THE NU. THE SURROUNDINGS ARE A LARGELY "ABANGAN," ONCE HEAVILY-PKI AREA, WITH LARGE SUGAR ESTATES AND OTHER LAND-HOLDINGS, MANY OWNED BY RICH URBAN MOSLEMS, MOSQUES AND PESANTRENS. THERE ARE SOME NU HAMLETS, BUT THE AREA WAS DOMINATED AS A WHOLE BY PARMUSI (EX-MASJUMI) IN THE 1971 ELECTIONS.

3. KEDIRI IS THE "NATIONAL CAPITAL" OF THE "DARUL HADIS" SECT OF INDONESIAN ISLAM, WHOSE AN C-NU MEMBERS, ALONG WITH EX-PKI AND PNI, CONTRIBUTED THE MAJORITY OF GOLKAR VOTES IN THE KABUPATEN IN 1971. THE KEDIRI JOMBANG AREA IS ALSO THE SYMBOLIC BASE FOR BRAWIJAYA COMMANDER MAJOR GENERAL WITARMIN, WHO LED THE MOP-UP OF PKI REMNANTS IN SOUTH BLITAR IN 1968, AND WHO HAS BEEN LINKED TO MOERTOPO IN RECENT SURABAYA SPECULATION (REFTEL). FINALLY, KEDIRI IS STILL THE HOME OF THE LATE PRESIDENT SUKARNO'S FAVORITE "GURU," WHO--ALONG WITH THE FAMOUS GURU "KYAI RAMLI" IN JOMBANG--IS SAID TO BE CONSULTED REGULARLY BY ADMIRAL SUDOMO OF KOPKAMTIB AS WELL AS BY ALI MOERTOPO.

4. THE "DARUL HADIS," HEADQUARTERED IN KEDIRI, ATTEMPTED TO SET UP AN "ISLAMIC STATE" IN THE POST-SUKARNO YEARS. IT ELECTED AN "EMIR," APPOINTED MINISTERS AND TRAINED "SOLDIERS" FOR A "JIHAD."

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DESPITE ITS 1971 ELECTORAL SUPPORT FOR GOLKAR, IT WAS BANNED FOR THESE REASONS IN 1972, ALTHOUGH SOME BRANCHES ARE STILL FUNCTIONING COVERTLY UNDER GOLKAR UMBRELLAS IN MALANG (EAST AAVA) AND MENADO IN NORTH SULAWESI. EXACTLY ONE YEAR AGO, THERE WAS A REPORT IN SURABAYA THAT THE "DARUL HADIS" HAD HELD AN ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING IN KEDIRI, UNDER DRS. MUBAIDAH, AND THAT JAKARTA WAS CONSIDERING ALLOWING THIS GROUP TO RE-EMERGE TO COUNTER GROWING NU AND RESIDUAL MASJUMI STRENGTH IN THE KEDIRI AREA.

5. THIS MORNING SURABAYA MOSLEM YOUTH LEADER AGIL ALI RETURNED FROM THE STATES AND STOPPED AT THE CONSULATE, AND I ASKED HIM ABOUT MOERTOPO'S VISIT TO KEDIRI. HIS COMMENT WAS: "SO ALI IS CAMPAIGNING ALREADY." AGIL SAID THAT THERE HAS BEEN MUCH MOSLEM ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY IN EAST JAVA VILLAGES IN PREPARATION FOR ELECTIONS, AND THIS HAS PROBABLY COME TO GENEUL WITARMIN'S ATTENTION. SINCE THE KEDIRI-JOMBANG AREA IS THE HOME FOR MANY RESPECTED KYAI'S AND "GURUS", IT IS A LOGICAL PLACE FOR ALI MOERTOPO TO BEGIN AN EFFORT TO "SPLIT THE NU," WHICH IS THE "PARTY OF THE KYAI'S." MOSLEMS FROM ALL OVER EAST JAVA LOOK TO KEDIRI FOR POLITICAL AS WELL AS RELIGIOUS GUIDANCE.

6. WHETHER THE YEAR-OLD PLAN TO PERMIT THE RE-EMERGENCE OF "DARUL HADIS" IS STILL ACTIONABLE IS NOT KNOWN, BUT COULD SERVE AS ANOTHER SPLITTIST TOOL. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE PRESS ALSO REPORTED FEBRUARY 6 THAT NEW GOVERNOR SUNANDAR HAD INSTALLED 27 BUPATI'S AS CHAIRMEN OF THEIR RESPECTIVE CIRCUMSCRIPTION'S "ELECTORAL COMMITTEES,"

AND EXHORTED THEM TO GUARANTEE "FREE, UNIVERSAL, DIRECT AND SECRET" ELECTIONS--AND TO TURN OUT MORE THAN 90 PERCENT OF THE ELECTORATE. SUNANDAR STIPULATED THAT "GENERAL ELECTIONS ARE NOT AIMED AT ELECTING REPRESENTATIVES THAT ARE TO ESTABLISH A NEW STATE BASED ON A NEW STATE PHILOSOPHY," BUT RATHER TO STRENGTHEN PANCASILA, PEMBANGUNAN, THE 1945 CONSTITUTION, ETC. IN LIGHT OF THE GENERAL BELIEF THAT MOERTOPO/WITARMIN AND AMIRMACHMUD/SUNANDAR ARE NOT THE ANTITHETICAL POLES OF THE EAST JAVA POLITICAL EQUATION, THE GOVERNOR'S REFERENCE TO THE "ISLAMIC STATE ISSUE" IN HIS FIRST MAJOR SPEECH MAY REFLECT HIS CONCERN THAT MOERTOPO IS FISHING DANGEROUSLY IN THE MUDDIED ISLAMIC WATERS OF FLOODED KEDIRI. WE WILL BE FOLLOWING SECULAR-MOSLEM POLITICS IN THAT AREA CLOSELY, SINCE IT IS ALSO THE SITE OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST HOSPITAL.

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